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Info FROM: PARIS
RMR TO: Secretary of State

SS NO: POLTO 1333, NOVEMBER 17, 9 PM (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

PRIORITY

SENT DEPARTMENT POLTO 1333, REPEATED INFORMATION BONN POLTO 234,
LONDON POLTO 384, MOSCOW POLTO 64, BERLIN POLTO 13.

POUCHED ALL OTHER NATO CAPITALS POLTO UNN

SUBJECT: NAC MEETING, NOV 17, 1958 -- BERLIN

MAIN EMPHASIS BROUGHT OUT IN NAC DISCUSSION OF BERLIN
WAS NECESSITY TO CONSULT CLOSELY IN COUNCIL ON DEVELOPMENTS
AND DECISIONS IN CONNECTION WITH BERLIN SITUATION AND
RELATED EASTERN EUROPEAN PROBLEMS. WHILE OTHER NATO
DELEGATIONS AND SECGEN RECOGNIZED PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY
OF U.S., UK, AND FRANCE AS OCCUPYING POWERS, ALONG WITH
FEDREP, THEY ALSO ASSERTED PROBLEM WAS OF DIRECT CONCERN
TO NATO AS A WHOLE AND THEREFORE IMPORTANT THAT FOUR
POWERS KEEP NAC INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS IN AMPLE TIME
TO PERMIT FULL COUNCIL CONSIDERATION. IN THIS CONNECTION
CRITICISM WAS EXPRESSED OF FED REP'S FAILURE TO GIVE
NAC ADEQUATE TIME FOR COMMENT ON REPLY TO SOVIET SEPT
18 NOTE AND NEED WAS EXPRESSED FOR FURTHER COUNCIL
CONSIDERATION OF STATEMENT IN GERMAN REPLY RE GERMAN
COLLABORATION IN FOUR-POWER COMMISSION THROUGH APPOINT-
MENT OF EXPERTS (PARA 5) WHICH SOME DELEGATIONS BELIEVED
COULD BE CONSTRUED AS MAJOR POLICY CHANGE IN QUESTION
OF CONTACTS WITH GDR.

GERMAN PERMREP OPENED DISCUSSION BY READING STATEMENT
(TEXT TO BE CIRCULATED AND WILL BE FORWARDED) THAT REVIEWED
KHRUSHCHEV'S NOV 10 STATEMENTS AND SAID SOVIETS TRYING

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TO WITHDRAW FROM THE VARIOUS FOUR-POWER ARRANGEMENTS AND AGREEMENTS RELATIVE TO BERLIN WHICH HE SAID STEMMED FROM POTSDAM. EMPHASIZED UNILATERAL DENUNCIATION OF THESE AGREEMENTS OR TRANSFER OF POWERS FROM USSR TO GDR WOULD BE VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. BELIEVED SOVIETS WERE AIMING TO TRY OUT POWER OF THREE WESTERN POWERS TO RESIST AND TO COMPEL THEM TO NEGOTIATE WITH GDR. SOVIET STATEMENTS CERTAIN TO BE FOLLOWED BY ACTION CREATING DANGEROUS SITUATION. MIGHT BE DENUNCIATION OF POTSDAM AGREEMENTS AND BERLIN ACCORDS WHICH WOULD CONFRONT WEST WITH NECESSITY OF MAKING DECISION TO COME TO AGREEMENT WITH GDR OR TAKING OTHER ACTIONS. POINTED OUT THAT CRITICAL STAGE NOT RPT NOT YET REACHED, HOWEVER, AND WOULD COME ONLY WHEN OBSTACLES WERE PUT TO WESTERN ACCESS TO BERLIN. THANKED THREE ALLIED GOVTS FOR STATEMENTS ON BERLIN AND REFERRED TO OCT 3, 1954 DECLARATION WITH WHICH OTHER NAC GOVTS HAD ASSOCIATED THEMSELVES.

SPAACK TOOK OCCASION TO REPEAT HIS INSISTENCE OF LAST WEEK RE U.S. NOTE OF NOV 7 ON SURPRISE ATTACK (POLTO 1266) THAT COUNCIL BE GIVEN ADEQUATE TIME TO CONSIDER MATTERS OF DIRECT CONCERN TO ALLIANCE. DEPRECATED TENDENCY TO CONFRONT COUNCIL WITH "FAIT ACCOMPLI" IN MATTERS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. FEARED SUCH PRACTICE IF CONTINUED WOULD CAUSE "INCIDENT" IN NAC. IN THIS CASE, SAW NO RPT NO REASON WHY GERMAN REPLY HAD TO BE DELIVERED TODAY WHEN CIRCULATED TO NAC ONLY FRIDAY. GERMAN PERMREP EXPLAINED FEDREP COMPELLED TO ACT QUICKLY BECAUSE OF TODAY'S BUNDESTAG MEETING. ALSO THOUGHT THAT IN VIEW SITUATION RE BERLIN REPLY AT THIS JUNCTURE WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE BAD TACTICALLY. HAD CONSULTED THREE WESTERN POWERS RESPONSIBLE FOR BERLIN, REACHED "CERTAIN AGREEMENT" WITH THEM, AND THEREFORE DID NOT RPT NOT CONSIDER TOO IMPORTANT IF NOTE SENT WITHOUT COUNCIL CONSIDERATION.

BELGIUM PERMREP REJOINED THAT RESPONSIBILITY OF THREE POWERS RE GERMANY RECOGNIZED BUT TO INCLUDE THIS AS ARGUMENT FOR NOT RPT NOT CONSULTING COUNCIL, WAS REGRETTABLE.

RAISED QUESTION OF PRINCIPLE AND MIGHT LEAD TO A "DIRECTORATE" WHICH WAS DANGEROUS PATH. SEC GEN, UK, NETHERLANDS,

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AND ITALY EMPHATICALLY SUPPORTED BELGIUM VIEW. SECGEN RE-EMPHASIZED VIEW THREE POWER RESPONSIBILITY NO RPT NO REASON WHY OTHERS SHOULD NOT RPT NOT BE CONSULTED. UK POINTED OUT DISAGREEMENT WITH SOME PARTS OF GERMAN REPLY AND HAD HOPED IT WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE DELIVERED TODAY IN ORDER GIVE COUNCIL CHANCE TO DISCUSS MATTER. NETHERLANDS RECALLED NATO HAD ASSOCIATED ITSELF WITH OCT 1954 DECLARATION AND STRESSED "ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL" OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE CHANCE TO EXPRESS VIEWS ON SUCH IMPORTANT MATTER. ITALY POINTED OUT BERLIN SITUATION POSED "COLLECTIVE DANGER" AND GERMAN NOTE WHICH APPEARED AS ANSWER TO SOVIET TACTICS, OF CONCERN TO ALL NATO COUNTRIES.

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TO: Secretary of State

NO: POLTO 1333, NOVEMBER 17, 9 PM (SECTION TWO OF TWO)

PRIORITY

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LONDON POLTO 384, MOSCOW POLTO 64, BERLIN POLTO 13

POUCHED ALL OTHER NATO CAPITALS POLTO UNNUMBERED

US PERMREP, AFTER NOTING THAT U.S. HAD BEEN CONSULTED
RE GERMAN REPLY AND OUR PREFERENCE FOR DIFFERENT LANGUAGE
IN SOME PARTS OF NOTE, AND SAYING US WOULD HAVE PREFERRED
MORE TIME FOR NATO CONSULTATIONS, BROUGHT DISCUSSION
BACK TO BERLIN PROBLEM WITH OUR STATEMENT ANALYZING
SITUATION ALONG LINES OF DEPTTEL 622, TOPOLS 1622 AND 1669.
STATED THREE POWERS NOW RPT NOW CONSULTING ON SITUATION
AND WOULD KEEP COUNCIL INFORMED. ALSO GAVE BRIEF FACTUAL
ACCOUNT OF BABESBERG INCIDENT CONTAINED USCIB'S UNN
TO DA, NOV 15, ADDING THAT HODES HAD SENT STRONG PROTEST
TO ZAKHAROV.

UK PERMREP AGREED WITH U.S. ANALYSIS OF SITUATION.
LINKED SOVIET STATEMENTS OF NOV 10 WITH RAPACKI PLAN AS
POSSIBLY DESIGNED TO THWART PLACING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS
IN GERMANY. THREE POWERS, WITH FED REP JUST BEGINNING
TO ASSESS SITUATION AND SEE WHAT COUNTER-MEASURES MIGHT
BE TAKEN BEFORE MAKING RECOMMENDATIONS TO COUNCIL.
FELT SOVIETS WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE IN HURRY TO PRECIPITATE
CRISIS. FRENCH PERMREP, REJECTING ANY IDEA OF "DIRECTORATE"
BEING INVOLVED IN CONSULTATION ON GERMAN REPLY, EXPRESSED
VIEW SOVIET STATEMENTS RE BERLIN PART OF OVERALL PLAN
TO OBTAIN RECOGNITION OF EAST GERMAN REGIME IN WHICH
PROPOSAL

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PROPOSAL FOR FOUR-POWER COMMISSION FOR PEACE TREATY, RAPACKI PLAN, RECOGNITION OF GDR ETC. WERE ALL ELEMENTS. DID NOT RPT NOT BELIEVE SOVIETS WOULD TAKE STEPS TO BAR ACCESS TO BERLIN BUT WOULD CREATE INCIDENTS. AGREED WITH US AND UK THAT COUNCIL BE KEPT INFORMED OF ACTIONS RESPONSIBLE WESTERN POWERS MIGHT PROPOSE IN CONNECTION WITH SITUATION. SAID CONSULTATION WAS USEFUL.

BELGIUM RAISED QUESTION OF MEANING OF STATEMENT IN 5TH PARA GERMAN NOTE RE PARTICIPATION OF GERMAN EXPERTS IN PROPOSAL FOR FOUR-POWER COMMISSION TO STUDY GERMAN PROBLEM. GERMAN PERMREP REPLIED THAT GERMAN NOTE CONCERNED ONLY WITH PROBLEM OF REUNIFICATION AND NOT RPT NOT BERLIN. QUOTED INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN FEDREP TO KROLL AT MOSCOW INDICATING FED REP MEANT THAT IF FOUR-POWERS CONVINCED PARTICIPATION OF GERMAN EXPERTS IN CONFERENCE DESIRABLE, FED REP WOULD CONSIDER IT. NOTED THAT IT HAD BEEN AGREED AT GENEVA IN 1955 GERMAN EXPERTS MIGHT BE INCLUDED AS OBSERVERS.

BELGIUM PERMREP STRESSED THAT, DESPITE MEANING ATTACHED TO STATEMENT BY FEDREP, MIGHT BE CONSTRUED AS INVITATION TO SOVIETS TO MAKE PROPOSAL RE SETTLEMENT OF REUNIFICATION BETWEEN GDR AND FED REP. ITALY ALSO EMPHASIZED THAT STATEMENT RAISED WHOLE QUESTION OF CONTACTS BETWEEN GDR AND WEST AND SHOULD BE STUDIED IMMEDIATELY BY COUNCIL IN RELATION TO BERLIN DEVELOPMENTS AND RAPACKI PLAN. UK ALSO POINTED OUT OTHER AMBIGUITIES IN TEXT SUCH AS REFERENCE TO "FORMALISTIC APPROACH" AND "REALISTIC IDEAS" THAT WOULD BE SEIZED ON BY SOVIETS AND WOULD CAUSE SOME DIFFICULTIES FOR UK GOVT IN PARLIAMENT.

SECGEN STRESSED ALL THESE CRITICISMS POINTED UP ABSOLUTE NECESSITY TO ENSURE ADEQUATE NATO CONSULTATION ON THESE SUBJECTS. IN SUMMING UP DISCUSSIONS, STATED AGREEMENT ALL NATO COUNTRIES HAD INTEREST IN BERLIN SITUATION. SPAAK DID NOT RPT NOT BELIEVE SOVIETS LOOKING FOR MAJOR CONFLICT. SOVIET MOVE, HOWEVER, HAD SERVED USEFUL PURPOSE IN DEMONSTRATING TO NATO, EUROPEAN AREA STILL IMPORTANT POINT OF SOVIET MANEUVERS ALSO WITH MIDDLE AND FAR EAST

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AND AFRICA. STRESSED THAT REFERENCE IN GERMAN NOTE TO EXPERTS PARTICIPATING IN CONF IMPORTANT AND OTHER NATO GOVTS NEED TO KNOW BASIC VIEWS OF FEDREP GOVT ON THIS POINT, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW FACT LATTER HAD ALWAYS BEEN SENSITIVE ON QUESTION OF CONTACTS OF OTHER GOVTS WITH GDR IN COMMERCIAL MATTERS, ETC. WHICH MIGHT IMPLY DE FACTO RECOGNITION OF GDR. IF THERE IS ANY CHANGE IN POLICY OF FED REP IN THIS MATTER, OTHER NATO GOVTS SHOULD BE INFORMED. ISSUE REQUIRES PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION IN NAC PROMPTLY AFTER 3 POWERS CONSIDER QUESTION.

AGREED THAT PRESS COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AFTER MEETING SHOULD BE LIMITED TO STATEMENT COUNCIL HAD CONSIDERED PROBLEMS ARISING OUT OF SOVIET STATEMENTS.

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